

A  
VINDICATION

OF THE

*Petty (Mr.)*  
EARL OF SHELBURNE,

*K*  
FROM THE

UNJUST AND VIRULENT ASPERSIONS IN A  
PAMPHLET, INTITLED,

"A DEFENCE OF THE

EARL OF SHELBURNE,"

AND ADDRESSED

"TO SIR GEORGE SAVILLE, BART."

IN A

LETTER TO SIR GEORGE SAVILLE, BART.

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VINDICATION

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EARS OF SHELBURNE

FROM THE

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UNJUST AND VULGAR ASSURSIONS IN A  
PAMPHLET  
2/4/21



EARS OF SHELBURNE

AND ANSWERED

TO SIR GEORGE SAVILE, BART.

LETTER TO SIR GEORGE SAVILE, BART.

L O N D O N

Printed by J. B. TROTTER, at the 'Globe' Press, No. 1, St. Paul's Church-yard, London.  
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1821

Sir GEORGE SAVILE, Bart.

S I R,

IT would be doing injustice to your character, to doubt your feeling pleasure from the vindication, and pain from the crimination of any one, especially so exalted and respectable a personage as the Earl of Shelburne; I will not therefore offend you by an apology for addressing to you the following remarks on that most *masterly*, but *delusive*, and *vindictive* accusation, which has been lately lodged against his Lordship, in a pamphlet entitled "A Defence of the Earl of Shelburne," &c. addressed as a letter to you; which, to my astonishment, I find is ascribed to one of the best and greatest men that ever appeared in this or any other nation, and to whom I look up with the utmost esteem and veneration, and lament that unhappy misunderstanding which

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has

has deprived this distracted and dismembered empire of the many and great advantages it must have derived from a full exertion of his and Mr. Fox's superlative abilities; but I trust, that when their *resentments* subside, which have been roused by the superior distinctions his Majesty has thought fit to confer on the Earl of Shelburne, a sense both of their duty and interest will revive, and prevail with them to resume such share in the management of the great machine of government, as may be allotted to them; their good sense and candor will satisfy them, that there can be but *one* Prime Minister, and that every candidate will endeavour to obtain the office *for himself*; but when his Majesty has once declared the fortunate, or rather *unfortunate* man, it is the indispensable duty of all the other competitors to *acquiesce*, and to give him every *aid*, instead of every *obstruction*.

This is the uniform practice in the army, navy, church, and law departments; and why it should not also in the ministerial line, I will not say is beyond my conception, because the general motives to abusing mi-  
nisters



nisters are too *obvious* and too *severely felt* by the nation to be easily mistook or forgot.

In the present case, the veneration I have professed, and which I sincerely feel for the *supposed* author of said defence, will not allow me to impute the errors in his representation to a premeditated intention to deceive, but partly to that blindness and partiality which passion never fails to produce, and partly to his being deceived himself by wrong informations. And as I am sure he has too much honour and generosity not to do justice even to a *supposed* enemy, I have no doubt of receiving his thanks for furnishing him with *unanswerable* reasons for retracting most of the severe things he has said of Lord Shelburne.

I confess, that though I have never yet felt the pangs of ambition, I can yet conceive and make great allowances for its direful effects on *disappointed* rivals; but it surprises me much, that when *intrigue* and *generalship* is practised and approved in all other competitions, it should be so violently resented in this most honourable and lucrative

one, and which of course furnishes the best apology; but the truth is, and no sophistry can conceal it from the impartial discerning part of the public, that if Lord Shelburne had acquiesced in the plan form'd by Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, for bringing in the Duke of Portland as successor to the Marquis of Rockingham, we should never have heard of that long catalogue of iniquities with which his Lordship is now branded; but he certainly would have deserved a *cap and bells*, or a *strait waistcoat*, if he had fulfilled that *imaginary compact*; for it seems impossible that they could have the confidence *expressly* to propose to him *to sign his own exclusion*; nor can there be a doubt which way the balance of power would have leaned, had his Grace succeeded the Marquis.

It is absurd to suppose it possible to preserve an equality amongst Ministers; and there is no precedent since the creation, for one rival's complimenting another with any thing he can obtain for himself.

I am satisfied, and so I believe is the nation, that Lord Shelburne is perfectly qualified

lified and inclined to make an excellent Minister, if we give him *fair play*; but if the people persevere in their folly of suffering themselves to be made the dupes of every ambitious man or set of men who want to get into the saddle, I am inclined to believe that we should find his Lordship as *desperate a horseman* as even *Astley*, and that he would ride BRITANNIA over as many *dangerous precipices* as ever Sir Robert did, before he would be *flung*. And for my part, I could not blame him, however I might suffer in my fortune by the struggle.

I think Ministers should ever be watched with a jealous eye; but at the same time I acknowledge, that if the public are so unjust, and so impolitic, as to encourage the persecution of a Minister without just cause, they have no right to complain of the natural consequences.

We see that Lord Shelburne has already been obliged to send out into the *highways and hedges* to solicit guests for his *wedding supper*, and to *compel* them to come even from the *Orkneys*; because *some of those* who were  
originally



*originally invited had excused themselves. And if we prove ourselves so absurdly wicked as to join without the best grounds in an attack both on his character and fortune, I think he will be perfectly justified in fining the nation with fifty thousand a year additional pensions, and quantum sufficit of Lords, Baronets, &c.*

I dare say, Sir, you will agree with me in thinking the real misfortune to the nation is, that the incomes of our employments should be so exorbitantly great as to operate doubly to our ruin, both by overwhelming us with debt, and distracting us by the struggle for the loaves and fishes.

For my part, I will not scruple to pronounce it infamous to accept, much more to solicit, from a people on the verge of bankruptcy, such overgrown salaries and perquisites as that of the Paymaster of the Forces, &c. &c. Mr. Burke has shewn a glorious example of self-denial, which, however, I fear few, if any, have virtue to imitate.

As in courts of justice, the sentence of the Judge does, or at least ought to, be governed by



by the credibility of evidence, and not by the rhetorical flourishes and declamation of the pleaders; so, I shall ever presume, that a candid and generous public, will decide on the same principles.

I therefore think it necessary, before I attempt to confute the charges brought against the Earl of Shelburne, to affirm, that I am neither influenced by fear or favour, or by any other motive than a love of justice, to stand forth in his Lordship's defence.

I thank God that I am so perfectly independent both in fortune and disposition, that I have lived half a century without ever once feeling either occasion or inclination to ask or receive a favour from any man in power; and as that is the case, I have rather avoided than courted their acquaintance, though I have every reason to believe, that I should be most kindly received by many of the first people in the kingdom, and by none more than Lord Shelburne; on account of the long and strict friendship which has subsisted between our families; and yet I have not even seen his Lordship these twenty-eight

eight years, though I have lived a considerable part of the time within two hours drive of Bowood park, and in the possession of every advantage that would have secured a most cordial reception.

I am well acquainted with his Lordship's political character, and think highly both of his abilities and integrity; yet I will candidly confess, that I am not without fears that his judgment may sometimes be warped by his ambition, of which he has furnished an alarming proof lately, by the tendency he discovered to protracting this ruinous war; for his most extraordinary and pathetic declarations concerning the setting of the sun OF BRITAIN'S GLORY, could admit of no other construction. But from the present pacific negotiations, and parliamentary debates, he seems to have discovered that peace is not only *absolutely* necessary to us in our present situation, but also a *most desirable blessing at all times*.

Let us now examine this *extraordinary* Defence:—From page 1 to page 9, he gives us a very just picture of the arts and deceptions

tions which have been practised in all courts and in all ages since the creation, and are at least as applicable to ninety-nine ministers in a hundred as to the Earl of Shelburne. However, as I have no opinion of the infallibility of any man, especially of *Ministers*, I beg leave earnestly to recommend to his Lordship frequently to study those maxims and anecdotes, as they will serve him as light-houses to direct him how to steer clear of the *rocks* and *shoals* by which he will find himself surrounded whilst he continues PILOT of the BRITANNIA. I particularly recommend an attention to that passage in page 4, which complains of the distinction that some people make between KING'S FRIENDS, and FRIENDS of the PEOPLE; a distinction so shocking, so unnatural, and so ruinous, that I think, all who either *preach* or *practise* it, deserve the *gibbet*.

From page 9 to page 16, a parallel between Lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox is drawn with so much ingenuity, that it has metamorphosed many of his Lordship's virtues into vices, and several of Mr. Fox's acknowledged foibles into virtues. However, it is concluded by a very high and I believe just

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panegyric



panegyric on Mr. Fox's great abilities, to which I will add, both with truth and pleasure, that his application of them has done both him and his country the highest honour and service ever since he came into the Ministry, except in the single instance of his peevish abdication, by being disappointed of his hopes of succeeding the Marquis; the folly and absurdity of which, as well as of his vindication, is not only manifested by his highly respectable colleagues and friends, the Duke of Richmond, Lord Keppel, and General Conway, continuing in office, but also by the present progress of a pacific negotiation.

However, I wish Lord Shelburne's defender had been so kind in his parallel between his Lordship and Mr. Fox, to have satisfied the public, whether there is any and what foundation for the charge brought against Mr. Fox in some of the newspapers, of his having relapsed to GAMING? And that Mr. *Burke* has been under a necessity of sending several expresses down for him some weeks ago to Newmarket, before he could bring him up. If the accusation be true, he shall not have my vote even to make him an overseer or churchwarden; for, I think, any  
 person



person who games, is unworthy of the least confidence or respect.

However, I hope and believe, he has long since repented of that folly; and if he can also bring himself to adopt some other motto than *AUT CÆSAR AUT NULLUS*, I have not a doubt but that Lord Shelburne would be happy to invite him to accept some honourable and profitable appointment; but whilst his Lordship has reason to fear that Mr. Fox would employ his irresistible powers in endeavouring to *supplant* him, no one can blame his Lordship for using every precaution against so formidable a rival; and I am persuaded it is this apprehension which has made his Lordship court the alliance of many who are much less acceptable to the *public*, and also to *himself*, than Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, and who he never would have thought of, if they had not *deserted* him.

From page 17 to page 21, Lord Shelburne is charged with duplicity, in regard to the granting American Independence; his declaration, *that* THE SUN OF BRITAIN'S GLORY WOULD FOR EVER SET, WHENEVER INDEPENDENCE WAS

ACKNOWLEDGED; certainly implied doubt and reluctance; but these were natural and laudable feelings, on the prospect of losing so valuable a part of our dominions; feelings! with which many of the most respectable characters in this kingdom are strongly impressed, in direct opposition to their judgment, and for which I will give them much credit, IF THEY DO NOT INSIST ON REPLUNGING US INTO ALL THE HORRORS OF WAR, WITHOUT A POSSIBILITY OF REAPING ANY ADVANTAGE; for my part, I have been uniformly of opinion ever since the beginning of this FATAL American contest, and have invariably maintained, both in public and private, *that no possible good consequence, but that every ruinous one, must attend this war.* Yet, I would think myself unpardonably presumptuous, were I to arraign the integrity of the many thousands of wise and good men, who, I know, are of the direct opposite opinion; and it would be very hard if a Minister was not entitled to equal indulgence.

In page 24, he doubts whether FULL AND PROPER POWERS have been given to Sir  
Guy

Guy Carleton, to acknowledge the INDEPENDENCE, and suspects that INADMISSIBLE terms have been offered to the American Colonies, that their REFUSAL might furnish a PRETENCE for obtaining the SANCTION OF PARLIAMENT for the renewal of hostilities. What Sir Guy's PUBLIC OR PRIVATE instructions are, I know not, nor has any one a right to pronounce an unfavourable sentence on them, without the *best* authority.

But we are perfectly justified in saying, that the very LIMITED powers to do GOOD, and EXTENSIVE powers to do MISCHIEF, with which ALL his predecessors were intrusted, is an INCONTESTIBLE and FATAL proof of the INCAPACITY, the TREACHERY, and INSENSIBILITY, of THOSE who employed them.

From page 25 to page 27, strong suggestions are thrown out, that Sir Thomas Rumbold has BOUGHT off his CHIEF PROSECUTOR; if so, I think no punishment can be too severe for such APOSTACY. But I at the same time think, as I do in all similar cases, that it would be highly unjust in the public to inflict punishment before conviction.

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In page 27, is a suggestion that Lord Shelburne means to advise his Majesty to refuse his consent to an EQUAL REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE; if so, his Lordship would be a betrayer of his country, which is too severe a charge to be credited of any one without proof. But I am glad to find, that the *supposed* author of the defence seems to have RECANTED his late ERRORS on that subject.

From page 28 to page 38, his Lordship is accused of being an enemy to IRELAND, and to its VOLUNTEERS; and that he is an oppressive, unjust landlord, and hated and despised throughout that kingdom. I am very glad that I can from *my own* knowledge confidently contradict a great part of that charge. In regard to the VOLUNTEERS, I happened to be in Ireland when they gave the first ALARM to the BRITISH MINISTRY. Every art was practised to crush them. Amongst others, it was industriously reported in all the ministerial prints, that Lord Shelburne was their bitterest enemy. I was a witness and partaker of the general indignation with which the nation was struck at the attempt to fix such a *slander* on one of whom they were



were so *proud*, and of whom they conceived such *high hopes*.

On the strictest enquiry, I found that his Lordship's DECLARATION in PARLIAMENT, on which that report was founded, had been very *unjustly tortured*; in which opinion I was confirmed, by a letter which a near relation of mine had just received from his Lordship, and which he read to me; it complained of the *unjust* construction put upon his words, and lamented that he was restrained from vindicating himself, by a resolution he had long taken and kept, never to engage *personally* in any printed contest.

I considered that *declaration*, not only as a *permission*, but also as an *invitation* to his friend, to do him justice; but not perceiving that it struck him in the same light, I immediately went home, and sent a short address to the Freeman's Journal, which I inclosed to his Lordship, together with a few anonymous lines, and suppose he received them, though I never since enquired.

But my reason, Sir, for troubling you with this anecdote, is, to assure you that I never perceived

perceived *stronger marks of joy* on any occasion, than the *whole kingdom* shewed when they were *convinced* that their *IDOL* had been *misrepresented*.

I had the pleasure to receive full conviction in a visit I lately made to the county of KERRY, that Lord Shelburne is both BELOVED and ESTEEMED in that county; and I heard no complaints of him as a LANDLORD. But if you will permit me to give my opinion, I do not think there is one IRISH LANDLORD in a hundred, who does not EXTORT much more for their land than they ought; and I am very ready to suppose that my Lord goes with the majority, though I have no particular reason for believing it.

All I shall say as to the story about *Renewals*, is, that my experience, both as a *Magistrate* and *Landlord*, obliges me to be governed by the vulgar proverb, *not to believe one story till the other is told*, especially, where *property* is concerned; for, I have known so many instances, where the *facts* have turned out *directly opposite* both to *declarations* and *oaths*, that I should be *highly criminal* in giving a hasty assent to a story that would reflect

reflect so much disgrace on so EXALTED AND RESPECTABLE A CHARACTER, especially as I know, that nothing is more common in *Ireland* than for *Landlords* to buy up *leases* in their own estates; and it would be probably found that these gentlemen, with the *hard names*, obtained *other advantages* from his Lordship for *surrendering* their leases, besides the *escaping a chancery suit*, which, however, I know to my *cost*, is no *contemptible consideration* in *Ireland*.

The author of the defence *acknowledges*, that my Lord gave in exchange for the *disputed leases*, which were surrendered to him, *new leases* for a certain term of *thirty-one years*, which was, I take for granted, more than *any other person* in the kingdom would have given them, at a time when they were subject both to the *expence and risk of a chancery suit*; for if I am not misinformed, a lease of thirty-one years in possession, is of at least *equal value* to the *reversion* of a *fee-simple estate*, and *much more* than equal to the reversion of a *renewable lease*. So that the probability is, that my Lord, instead of *injuring* MESSRS. M'LAGHLING O'MUYNIGHANE, PHILIMY MACK CULLACOTH, D MOROOGHA



MOROOGHA MAC LUGHULLUGHA, and Co. did, in compliance with his own *generous feelings* for their *distress*, and at *their earnest solicitations*, purchase their claims from them, greatly above the *market price*.

Besides, tho' we are told, that my Lord's tenants had the good fortune to defeat him, yet, it is well known, that decrees in similar cases have been often made in favour of the *landlords*, of which we have many melancholy evidences at this hour in Ireland: And I have been cautioned within these very few years, by a very respectable *peer and privy counsellor of both kingdoms*, under whom I hold a considerable lease, that if I do not *conform strictly to the covenants* in the lease, he will certainly endeavour to break it; nor would I blame his Lordship, as tenants are too apt to consider *leases* as fee-simple estates.

In page 39 and 40, the author *generously* makes a farther attempt to *defend* his Lordship from the *disgrace* of being *popular in Ireland*; but that is a *forlorn hope*. For the nation in general is so *proud* of the *virtues, the abilities, and the honour* of their *countryman*, that his Lordship would find some difficulty

faculty in getting rid of their *affection and esteem*. However, I am confident he will never make the *experiment*.

But, the author has mitigated the severity of his proscription, by including another *highly respectable Peer* in his writ of EXEANT REGNO, for he says, that “EARL NUGENT “*is almost as great a favourite in Ireland, as “the Earl of Shelburne.*” If the fact was so, in the *author’s sense of the phrase*, I would blush for the *ingratitude* of the country, as Ireland cannot boast of any one more *sincere or steady friend*; he has ever laboured to serve his country, as far as he thought consistent with a *prudent regard for their interest*, and the *duty* he owed to his *constituents* in this kingdom.

It must be acknowledged, that his attempts to *relieve Ireland* from the ACCUMULATED OPPRESSIONS under which it has GROANED *for so many centuries*, have neither been so extensive, or so successful, as those of the VOLUNTEERS. But if that deficiency of *discernment and enterprize* is considered as a *crime*, he has the consolation

to find *every man of sense* in both kingdoms, equally involved in his *guilt*.

It is also true, that if we were to measure his Lordship's generosity by his OSTENSIBLE liberalities, we might have reason to fear that he has not been a TRULY WISE STEWARD of the talents committed to his care. But I know from UNDOUBTED AUTHORITY, that notwithstanding his *extreme secrecy*, he gives away MANY HUNDREDS a year to PRIVATE CHARITIES.

I have not the honour to be known either to Lord or Lady Temple; yet, all the letters which I receive from *every part*, and *every party* in that kingdom, are so full of their *superlative merit and popularity*, that I cannot without *indignation*, read or hear any thing which carries the least appearance of ingratitude or insensibility to their worth.

From page 40 to page 63, there are many excellent remarks, but few of them relative to the Earl of Shelburne, and none of them which require answers, except, that in page 63, his Lordship is charged with some inaccuracy and seeming contradiction, in his manner



manner of accounting for the SECESSION OF MESSRS. FOX AND BURKE; a *mistake* in an expression, by which a person can neither *gain or lose*, appears to me not to deserve the name of a CRIME. However, I am not sorry, and think his Lordship deserved the rebuke he got, for attempting to *account* for what he was not *accountable*: On the conviction of that insignificant error, the author triumphantly says, “And yet, *who is it can positively say, that there may not be after all this, in the world, (though not in KERRY or WILTSHIRE) some person who can speak well of the Earl of Shelburne?*”

I will leave the author to be relieved by his own enquiries *in the world at large*, from his dreadful apprehensions for his Lordship's character, and will confine myself to KERRY and WILTSHIRE, where he seems to think he is *more particularly disliked*.

I have already affirmed, that on a visit I paid not long ago to KERRY, every one I conversed with spoke highly of his Lordship; and as to WILTSHIRE, I have lived on the borders of it for these last twelve years, and have conversed with great numbers both of  
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rich and poor, and yet never heard a *disrespectful word* utter'd of Lord Shelburne, but have been often gratified by the most *flattering encomiums* on his Lordship, where there was not the least suspicion of my prepossession in his favour.

I am now arrived at that part of the DEFENCE, which I sincerely wish my strict regard to impartiality would permit me to draw a veil over, for the sake of the highly respectable *supposed author*, as it is a melancholy evidence of the fatal influence, which *disappointed ambition* and *party prejudices* may acquire over the *brigbest understandings* and *most benevolent hearts*.

Who could have believed that the *supposed author* would have ever suffered his *rash and unjust resentments* to have extinguished his *friendship, gratitude*, and every other generous passion? Who could have thought him capable of attempting to brand the memory of the MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM with so *dreadful a reproach*, as the BETRAYING THE SACRED TRUST REPOSED IN HIM, by a MISAPPLICATION of the PUBLIC TREASURE COMMITTED TO HIS CARE? Who could

could have believed this ONCE great man, capable of arraigning a GRANT made by the MARQUIS, and confirmed by the UNANIMOUS voice of the LEGISLATURE, the ACCUSER's OWN VOICE inclusive; especially when it was to reward the long and faithful services of a VETERAN OFFICER, esteemed and respected by the whole world? Was not COLONEL BARRÉ's pension granted by the MARQUIS, and confirmed by the unanimous voice of the LEGISLATURE? and would it not be the highest presumption in any one, to doubt the wisdom and justice of the MARQUIS, confirmed by the unanimous voice of the LEGISLATURE?

Who can with decency find fault with Lord Shelburne for asking, or with Colonel Barré for accepting a BOON, to which the JUSTNESS of the claim, has been so HONOURABLY AND UNQUESTIONABLY AUTHENTICATED; that it could not have been rejected without casting an oblique reflection both on the LEGISLATURE and on the MARQUIS; and yet, even the ANGRY ACCUSER confesses, that the Colonel's delicacy on the occasion was so great, that notwithstanding  
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the *magnificence of the present*, and the respect and gratitude due to the *generous donors*, he could not be restrained from declaring in the House of Commons, that, "*he vowed to God, if there was one honest sensible man in that House, who would say that he did not deserve that pension, he would never take a shilling of it.*" What could the Colonel do more?

If that grant deserves to be censured, where should the censure fall? certainly on those abject, prostitute, and venal wretches, who felt disapprobation, and were either *ashamed* or *afraid* to avow it. That was the time when PARLIAMENT might have acquired the highest honour, by petitioning his Majesty to confer upon that most respectable Veteran, some high MILITARY appointment that would not add to the weight of the almost INSUPPORTABLE BURTHENS, under which this RUINED EMPIRE is SINKING. Such a motion would have been manly, and TRULY PATRIOTIC; and though I have not the honour to know the Colonel personally, yet, I would pledge my SALVATION, from what I conceive of him from his UNIVERSAL CHARACTER, that he would have thanked the man who made it, and that he

would

would have been infinitely better pleased with an HONOURABLE MILITARY APPOINTMENT, though of inferior value, than he is now with his pension; and I have not a doubt, but that Lord Shelburne will be happy to find a convenient opportunity to confer on Colonel Barré, some suitable and acceptable appointment, which will enable him to exonerate the nation from so weighty, though so honourably acquired pension; and I am satisfied that the Colonel will be equally rejoiced at the exchange.

I will not pay so bad a compliment to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as to suppose he either wants or wishes any shield against those flashes of ironical wit thrown out against him by the author; but I will embrace this opportunity to thank him, in the name of the PUBLIC, for that indefatigable industry with which we are assured he has laboured ever since he came into office, in order to LIGHTEN THE BURTHENS OF THIS OPPRESSED EMPIRE; and I do, in the same AWFUL NAME, request, and rely, that no consideration will ever prevail with him to act contrary to the TRUE interest of this empire, which stands in so great need of HIS

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*services,*

*services*, and has placed so much CONFIDENCE in them.

The author of the Defence complains, and I fear with too much reason, that the freedom of the press has been invaded. The sudden and *extraordinary* change in the publications in most of the newspapers, has an alarming appearance; the freedom of the STATE, and the FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, are INSEPERABLE, and no one has more strenuously maintained that doctrine than LORD SHELBURNE; but, as he is now appointed BRITANNIA's STATE PHYSICIAN, I think he would have much to answer for, were he to trust her *delicate* constitution to the *desperate nostrums* of every *Quack* who has the PRESUMPTION to *prescribe* for her. And as his Lordship has reason to *fear* that there are MANY who do not care what INJURY they might do the PATIENT, so that they could but BRING HIS LORDSHIP INTO DISGRACE, I take it for granted that his Lordship has appointed *inspectors*, in whom he can *confide*, to examine all the *medicines and food* that is brought to his *patient*, and that *they* have thought it prudent



prudent to reject the BOLUS to which the DEFENDER OF THE FAITHFUL alludes.

I have a right also to lodge a complaint for the stoppage of a powerful potion I sent in lately, which I am sure would have produced a most happy effect, as it was composed entirely of BRITISH SIMPLES; but I am satisfied, as I believe it has fallen into the DOCTOR's *own hands*, and that he has mixed it up, much more judiciously than I could, with some of his own incomparable *restoratives*.

I seriously think, there was lately great reason to restrain the LICENTIOUSNESS of the press, and have not the least apprehension that this *restraining privilege* will be *abused* during the PRESENT ADMINISTRATION; however, I can't refrain taking this opportunity to exhort Lord Shelburne (on a presumption that he may possibly honour this letter with a perusal) to take into his serious consideration, whether *this kingdom* can possibly derive either *honour or advantage* from that *torrent* of most *illiberal abuse*, which

has for many months past been poured out so *profusely* against FOREIGN PRINCES, PARTICULARLY THE KING OF FRANCE's BROTHERS. I never read these publications but with a mixture of grief and indignation; especially, as they appear most frequently in *those papers*, which have shewn of late the *highest complaisance* to LORD SHELBURNE.

In page 73, this *arch defender* falls foul of Sir James Lowther, for making his Majesty a present of near one hundred thousand pounds, and attempts to aggravate his crime by charging him with covetousness; but, for my part I think that the more covetous any man is, there is the more merit in parting from his property. However, I fear that Sir James's knowledge of the value of money, is his principal merit on the present occasion; for *free gifts* to Princes have ever, and in all countries, proved dangerous: the transition from *begging* to *demanding* is easily made, especially by those who have the command of so many thousand *arm'd collectors*.

We experience the danger of bad precedents every day in private life; those gratuities which were received some years ago as free gifts, and with a low bow, by clerks, waiters, drivers, servants in lodging-houses, &c. &c. are now imperiously demanded as a right; and, what is worse, are doubled and trebled; for the misfortune is, that *Nabobs*, and others, who acquire large fortunes with great ease, give so extravagantly, that prudent people of moderate fortunes are almost ruined; for these *petty robbers* are as fond of precedents that *make in their favour*, as any of our courts of justice. The only inference I shall draw from this parallel is, that if Sir James were to be preached up as a precedent, he would occasion a general bankruptcy thro' the kingdom: For if a list were to be carried about with his *hundred thousand* at the head of it, I don't know how a gentleman could ever venture to shew his face at *court*, who *dar'd* to subscribe lower than hundreds. For my part, I confess freely, that this cursed American war has so drained me, that I would subscribe only by fifties, unless they pleaded **RATIO ULTIMA REGUM**,

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The *defender* next rallies to the charge of *equal representation*, which gives me double pleasure, on the christian doctrine for the reception of *penitent sinners*, as I have been assured that he has constantly reprobated the plan both in and out of the house.

My opinion on the question is, that no one can dispute its eligibility. But as to its present expediency or practicability, I will not presume to decide.

Lord Shelburne's *defender* concludes his letter with observations and strictures on his *hero*, much too severe and foreign from the purpose to make any impression on impartial people. I shall therefore take leave of it and him, with a repetition of assurances of the most unfeign'd respect and esteem for the supposed author: And as a proof of their sincerity, I earnestly recommend to him and to his friend Mr. Fox, not to suffer either pride or resentment to deprive their country of the benefit of their superlative abilities, or themselves of those high honours and emoluments to which they have so undoubted a right, and to accept which, they certainly will be  
courted,

courted, provided they *satisfy* the *Minister* that they are restored—I don't say to their *senses*, but—to that *amicable and tractable* disposition which would make it *safe and agreeable* to draw with them; for I shall ever think, and ever say, that that Minister would be an *idiot*, who would willingly bring *into power*, men, whose first object he had reason to suspect was, to turn him *out of power*; for, I must confess, notwithstanding my strong prepossessions in favour of Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, and notwithstanding the reasons they have given for their *secession*, I find it is not in my power to bring myself to believe, but that the principal cause of their violent resentment against Lord Shelburne is, his *daring to accept the office of Prime Minister*.

But I hope they will not call me to an account for this involuntary infidelity, or consider it as an impeachment of their veracity; and that they will also do me the justice to believe, that the slightest disrespect is not meant by my earnest recommendation that they conquer the impressions of their disappointment, and approach their late friends  
with

with those dispositions which will encourage the prime Minister to employ them, and confide in them.

In this advice, they may rely that I speak the thoughts and wishes of a great majority of the independent gentlemen in these kingdoms; and they may farther rely, that it is not in the compass of their (the seceders) power, to raise any commotions in the state, for the *apparent* purpose of bringing themselves to the *helm*.

Nothing has been more disgraceful or destructive to the empire, than the frequent changes of Ministry. The constant practice has been for many years past, that the *Ins* are worried, or badger'd, by the *Outs*, before they are well warm in their seats; the *ins* then become *outs*, and are badger'd in their turns, and so alternately, till the kingdom is distracted and ruined; and it often happens, that from the perplexities occasioned by their misrepresentations and abuse, many honest country gentlemen, like *Sir Francis Wronghead*, say *aye*, when they should say *no*.

But



But such practices are as unjust as they are destructive. I don't see why a *Minister* should be turned out without deserving it, any more than a *Judge*; and I think there are full as good reasons for their not holding DURANTE BENE PLACITO, but QUAMDIU SE BENE GESSERINT.

For example:—How can we expect that a prime Minister can even *know*, much less that he can *practise*, his most important, extensive, and complicated duties, if his whole time, and thoughts, and money, and, I am afraid, too often the *public money*, must be consumed in keeping himself in the *saddle*; or how is it possible that he can have a sincere attachment either to a PEOPLE who persecute him, or to a KING who sacrifices him?

For my part, I think, that the *instability* of Ministers, is the best apology which can be made for their almost universal rapacity, insensibility, and ignorance; for when, or how, some of them can acquire the universal knowledge they ought to possess, is beyond my comprehension, unless it may be learn'd

in a BROTHEL or at a GAMING-TABLE; for I have not yet heard of any of them who pretend to inspiration. We had one solemn blockhead (not a hundred years ago) who threw away FIFTY THOUSAND OF OUR SOULS, AND FIFTY MILLIONS OF OUR TREASURE, by mistaking an ISLAND for a part of the CONTINENT. I won't say I am accurate, but I am sure I am *moderate*, in my calculation of the consequences of that blunder. I could produce a long list of very near as capital proofs of the truth of my doctrine, but that they are too RECENT for publication, according to the *etiquette* of modern historians.

From these frequent and wanton changes of ministries, we may easily account why so much mischief, and so little good is done; the time and attention of Ministers, *in that tottering situation*, is so much taken up in *providing* for themselves and their *friends*, and the public good so very seldom thought of, that when they happen to blunder on any thing which deserves commendation, they seem as proud of their ingenuity, as the clown

clown is of his clumsy attempts to agility, in his awkward imitations of Harlequin.

However, I hope I have said enough to satisfy both KING and PEOPLE, that there is nothing so *disgraceful*, or nothing so *destructive*, as frequent changes of ministry; and that they will therefore second my motion that LORD SHELBURNE may be continued our PRIME MINISTER till he is *guilty* of some *crime* for which he deserves to be *turn'd out*; and I will boldly add, that it would do both Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke the highest honour, if they were to subscribe to my petition; but I think I hear them cry out, (notwithstanding the suggestions I have already given of my independence) this is some one of his Lordship's impudent sycophants or pensioners, whom he has hunted at us. I therefore think it necessary, in justice both to his Lordship and myself, to strengthen my former evidence, with the following anecdote; for which trespass, I trust, that his Lordship's *defender* will forgive me, as we are told that he himself is very fond of *story-telling*. The anecdote is as follows:



It happened, within these few weeks, by a *whimsical mistake*, that his Lordship directed a note, on *business*, to me, that was intended for another person; it was necessary that I should immediately return it. I accompanied it with a few lines, expressive of the pleasure I felt, that any accident had furnished me an opportunity to pay my respects to one with whom I had the honour to be well acquainted about twenty-eight years ago: I should have said thirty (but I trust that his Lordship's Defender will forgive me that innocent inaccuracy, notwithstanding his rigid adherence to and requisition of truth.) Lord Shelburne immediately replied, and professed a perfect and pleased recollection, but at the same time mistook me for a deceased brother, and directed to me (*Reverend.*) Had I been forward to *court*, or even to cultivate, this second mistake furnished me with an excellent opportunity, as I might, with great propriety, have told his Lordship, that since he had thought fit to put me into *orders*, he was bound by the laws of the Church to provide for me. However, as it is not of the least consequence  
either

either to his Lordship or me, whether he takes me for a clergyman or a layman, I did not think it necessary to undeceive him, nor should I now, did I not think that it would add to the credibility of these anonymous depositions, and entitle them to be READ as evidence in his behalf, on his trial, which is now *bearing* before the PUBLIC, at the suit of his Lordship's DEFENDER.

But, I had a strong inclination to put it out of his Lordship's power ever to disown his *native* country, by enquiring, how he could suppose, that I as a *clergyman* would open a letter directed to an *Esquire*, without making an apology for my mistake: and, indeed, I was so careful, that when the *reverend* letter arrived, I would not open it, till I enquired through the neighbourhood, whether there was any clergyman to be found of the name. So that it may be reasonably infer'd, that if ever his Lordship finds me a troublesome acquaintance, it must be his own fault; for, if I had not been provoked by that *sophistical* defence, which I saw accidentally three or four days ago, his Lordship would

would certainly have never received from me any further assistance to his recollection.

And yet, I am by no means an advocate for that proud reserve, which withholds those of the best pretensions, and leaves great men, *often* at the mercy of fawning unprincipled sycophants, frequently blockheads into the bargain. Every department is over-run with examples in proof of that truth. I know some mortifying instances of of fellows, who set out some years ago, with knapsacks on their backs, and a few guineas in their pockets, and who could hardly read and write, and have yet contrived to clamber pretty high up the ladder.

I accidentally came to the knowledge, two or three years ago, of one of these desperate *fortune-hunters*, (I am glad he was not bred on my estate) who prevailed on a friend of his to employ some of his leisure hours, whilst he was on a visit in the *King's Bench*, to furnish him with some high-flown compliments, to a *late* Minister, and his family. My adventurer contrived, *some-how or other*,  
to



to fumigate the *Premier* with his incense, who was so captivated by the fragrance, that he was on the point of bestowing on him, a very lucrative SINECURE employment IN AMERICA, when, accidentally, and fortunately, his Lordship discovered that his friend could hardly read or write; he immediately stop't the commission, which reduced the unfortunate gentleman to turn *novel-writer* for his bread.

I happen'd lately to dip into a very nonsensical novel of his, dedicated to *each and every* of a most exalted and numerous family, whom he calls over *personally* by their names, like a crier of a court, or a serjeant his muster roll; which, I believe, he thought the civilest and safest way he could take to demand their *purses*. He contrives to drag one of the said *Premier's* daughters, head and shoulders, into that novel, in order to give her a dash or two of his whitewash; and then, with as much confidence, as if he had made her a present of a handful of bank-notes, he boasts of his own generosity, and upbraids his Lordship for his ingratitude nearly in  
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St. Paul's language, where he complains, that "*Alexander the copper-smith has done him much wrong, the Lord reward him for it.*"

The former part of the foregoing anecdote was told me *feelingly*, by a gentleman, who, I suspect, had been drawn in to subscribe largely to the rigging out of that PIRATE; and who assured me, that if he could have chain'd up the ideot, a week longer, from exposing himself, he is convinced, that by this time, he might have clear'd many thousands.

It is the countenance and partiality shewn to such fellows, that prevents good men from offering their service, much more than that absurd maxim of Otway's, in the Orphan, that "When vice prevails, and "impious men bear sway, the post of honour is a private station." Whereas, it should be, that when vice prevails, and impious men bear sway, *good men ought to be doubly watchful, to prevent bad men from doing mischief.*

As I have not seen Lord Stair's Pamphlet, all I can say of the answer to it, in the postscript to the Defence of Lord Shelburne, is, that whoever declares himself a friend to Lord Shelburne, must expect to be roughly handled.

For my part, I shall always be ready to maintain the foregoing vindication of his Lordship, and those other highly respectable characters, which have been so unjustly traduced; but at the same time I think it necessary to repeat, that so far from wishing to offend the supposed author, there are few people in the world for whom I have a higher veneration, or would go farther to serve, though I never had the pleasure even to see him.

Though PEACE and WAR are the subjects of every print, and of every conversation; and that *all* agree, as to our NECESSITY for PEACE, though they differ about the WAYS to obtain it; I will not presume to intrude my opinion, either as to our necessity for it, or the roads to it; but I will take the

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liberty to suggest two hints of the utmost importance to those in power; one is, to keep always in their view that excellent proverb, FAS EST AB HOSTE DOCERI.

I will go a step farther and say, it is not only lawful, but the soundest policy, to profit from the "reproach of our enemies; they "won't flatter us."

If the late Ministry had availed themselves of the *judicious advice* they daily received from the OPPOSITION, they would never have been disturbed from the quiet and honourable enjoyment of their EMPLOYMENTS; nor would the nation have been robb'd of HAPPINESS AND PEACE, and we should have saved a HUNDRED THOUSAND LIVES, and a HUNDRED MILLIONS OF TREASURE.

The pamphlet entitled "REMARKS ON "THE REPORT OF A PEACE," is well worthy a careful perusal. JUNIUS has also been SENT to give us WARNING; and his intent SEEMS charitable, notwithstanding

ing the UNNATURAL COALITION he finds at St. James's. Junius cannot be COUNTERFEITED; we have had *false* prophets, but cannot have a false Junius. Don't let us deserve the same reproach for incredulity which *Abraham casts on Dives*; but we should, at the same time, be *careful to know* from what REGION OUR INVISIBLE MONITOR IS SENT.

The other hint I take the liberty to give, is, that the PRESENT MINISTRY should be on their guard to be neither FRIGHTENED OR FLATTERED to make themselves RESPONSIBLE for the *political sins* of their predecessors; I can't conceive a more ABSURD or a more RUINOUS error. What can be more presumptuous and unjust, than for the LATE MINISTRY first to DRAG us to the very BRINK OF DESTRUCTION, in direct opposition to, and contempt of our CONSTANT AND EARNEST SUPPLICATIONS, and though HEAVEN AND EARTH seemed combined to punish their wanton cruelties; and then dare to threaten with vengeance the

present Ministry, if they consent to purchase peace on the hard terms which the ruinous measures of their predecessors have made absolutely necessary. It is like throwing a person overboard, and then knocking him on the head, if he attempts to save himself from drowning. Nothing can be so provoking as that bloody presumption, except the madness and meanness of regarding it.

PEACE IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY; the present Ministry have, AS YET, done no one act to injure our claims to it, but have DONE MANY TO IMPROVE THEM; they are therefore by no means RESPONSIBLE for accepting, or even suing for, such a peace as the condition in which the nation was delivered up to them, entitles them to expect.

The present Ministry should consider themselves in the light of executors, who are safe whilst they act according to the letter of the will, but become answerable for all bad consequences, as soon as they depart from it.

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I therefore earnestly hope this Ministry will be on their GUARD, and not throw away THE SUBSTANCE TO CATCH AT A SHADOW; there are many SNARES laid for them, and they have had as many WARNINGS.

I trust that the generous motives which impell'd me IRRESISTIBLY to attempt to do justice to so HIGHLY RESPECTABLE AND INJURED CHARACTERS, will be accepted as an apology for my presumption.

I might plead hurry, inexperience, and a variety of other just excuses for all inaccuracies; but I scorn to follow that hack-nied track. I have neither written for bread, nor for fame, but from a most disinterested indignation at the outrageous insults offered to such illustrious characters, and am therefore confident of every indulgence.

My only pain is, lest my officious, though well-meant vindication, should be considered rather as an injury than a service; for I freely  
confess,

confess, that in most cases, and perhaps in none more than the present, a silent contempt is the properest and most successful manner of treating and disappointing such illiberal attacks. But the generality of people have greater pleasure in defamation than in praise; and there are TIMES when they are more strongly disposed to receive unfavourable impressions. Many also *affect* to believe, that whatever is not immediately contradicted, must be true; by which rule I observed great numbers were forward to be govern'd on the present occasion.

From which considerations, and also from a persuasion that few are better qualified to contradict, and no one entitled to more credibility, I have attempted that, with every becoming diffidence, which, I would have been happy to have transferr'd to some more able, though not more willing defender.

There is one apology which I can truly make for the flatness of this defence, and I will not suppress it; as I flatter myself that it

it will contribute to satisfy my antagonist of the sincerity of my professions of respect and esteem for him.

My apology for my performance, and my recommendation to him, is, that I have been careful to restrain every tendency to wit or severity, for fear of giving him pain.

If this weak attempt shall contribute, in the least, to do justice to injured merit, I shall be happy. But if it should be attended with disagreeable consequences, I will not follow the advice of my antagonist to Lord Shelburne, to sue for LEGAL mercy, but will in part adopt his phrase, and say

SHELBURNE, send me a good deliverance !

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in will contribute to fully my satisfaction of  
the fidelity of my past performance of respect and  
affection for him.

My apology for my performance and my  
recommendation to him, is, that I have been  
unable to resist every tendency to wit or  
sarcasm, for fear of giving him pain.

If this weak attempt shall contribute in  
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## P O S T C R I P T.

**I** BEG ten thousand pardons, Sir George; but this mode of correspondence is so perfectly new to me, that I have concluded my letter without remembring to take leave, though I was, and am determined to do it; not, however, in that fulsome language, by which the world in general attempts to make you responsible for INFALLIBILITY, but by frankly and honestly charging you with one CAPITAL FAULT, and that is, your not taking a more ACTIVE part, in saving your country from UTTER DESTRUCTION.

For, I will be evidence against you, that so great is the well-grounded confidence of this Empire in YOU, that it is at all times in your power, even SINGLY, to give LAW to those CONTENDING PARTIES, who,

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like

like the offspring of SATAN AND SIN, are now TEARING OUT their parent's VIRTALS: How much more then, would it be in your power to insure our preservation, with the assistance of such a PHALANX as would joyfully enlist under YOUR banner, who might, like Michael's guard, be planted to secure the peace of PARADISE; or, (in more terrestrial and intelligible language) to keep, or rather to MAKE PEACE IN ST. STEPHEN's.

That your influence could certainly produce such happy consequences, is so certain to me, that I solemnly assure you, if I could conveniently at present spare three or four thousand pounds, I would purchase a seat, that I might be qualified to offer myself as a VOLUNTEER in SIR GEORGE SAVILLE's RANGERS.

But as I have no expectation of an opportunity to enforce these hints personally, I earnestly exhort you to give them the most serious attention.

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F I N I S.

But, whether you consider this Address as  
 an imitation of Alphonse's &c. political  
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 series of GREAT MEN, is not material,  
 I shall be glad you comply with the prayer of my  
 friends, and SAVE OUR COUNTRY.

